

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 07606 01 OF 02 172001Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 DOEE-00 /026 W
-----004659 172015Z /62
O 171923Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9762
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 07606

EXDIS USCTB

PASS TO DOE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM US UK UR
SUBJECT: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: WARNKE-PETROSYANTS MEETING,
MAY 16

CTB MESSAGE NO. 211

1. SUMMARY. ON MAY 16 WARNKE MET FOR FIRST TIME WITH PETROSYANTS, NEW HEAD OF SOVIET CTB DELEGATION. WARNKE RELAYED TO PETROSYANTS PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL VIEW OF IMPORTANCE OF CTB AND HIS DESIRE TO EXPEDITE NEGOTIATIONS. TONE OF DISCUSSION WAS ENCOURAGING. WITHOUT SEEKING TO DIMINISH THE DIFFICULTY OF RESOLVING REMAINING ISSUES, PETROSYANTS CONVEYED VERY POSITIVE OUTLOOK ON PROSPECTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR ONE IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD BY INDICATING WILLINGNESS TO BEGIN DETAILED DISCUSSION OF AGREED UNDERSTANDING ON OSIS. END SUMMARY.

2. WARNKE, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHNSON, NEIDLE AND FINCH, MET
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 07606 01 OF 02 172001Z

AT SOVIET MISSION ON MAY 16 WITH PETROSYANTS, ACCOMPANIED BY TIMERBAEV AND TARASOV. PETROSYANTS OPENED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WITH BRIEF REVIEW OF SESSION TO DATE, OBSERVING THAT US HAS SUBMITTED "QUITE A FEW INTERESTING PROPOSALS." THE SOVIETS ARE STUDYING THESE AND ASKING QUESTIONS ABOUT THEM. THEY HAVE RECEIVED REPLIES TO SOME QUESTIONS BUT NOT OTHERS, BUT THIS IS "ONLY NATURAL" IN VIEW OF THE

AMOUNT OF MATERIAL INVOLVED AND ITS SERIOUSNESS. PETROSY-
ANTS OBSERVED THAT, IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION, EACH
SIDE THINKS IT IS THE OTHER WHICH MUST CHANGE ITS POSI-
TIONS.

3. WARNKE BEGAN BY REPORTING THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD
ASKED HIM TO STATE TO PETROSYANTS PERSONALLY THAT THE
PRESIDENT WANTS TO EXPEDITE THE NEGOTIATIONS IN WHATEVER
WAY HE CAN, THAT HE SEES THIS AS A MOST IMPORTANT MATTER,
AND IS CONCERNED THAT WE CAN IMPLEMENT OUR NONPROLIFERA-
TION POLICY ONLY IF WE CAN SHOW THE WORLD THAT THE US
AND USSR CAN STOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING.

4. WARNKE THEN REVIEWED THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS
FROM THEIR BEGINNING, CHARACTERIZING THE SOVIET MOVE LAST
YEAR ON PNES AS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE. HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS
WOULD AGREE THAT US HAD MADE SOME VERY CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS
ALSO, IN ACCEPTING THE SOVIET POSITION THAT SEISMIC
STATIONS ON THE TERRITORY OF A COUNTRY SHOULD BE CON-
TROLLED BY THAT COUNTRY, AND IN CONNECTION WITH INITIA-
TION OF ON-SITE INSPECTIONS. ON LATTER POINT, WARNKE
RECALLED THAT LONGSTANDING US POSITION HAD BEEN TO
REQUIRE MANDATORY ON-SITE INSPECTIONS. HOWEVER, AS
RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS DURING 1977, US HAD DECIDED THAT
IT COULD ACCEPT SOVIET APPROACH OF VOLUNTARINESS SUBJECT
TO CERTAIN CONDITIONS, INCLUDING AGREEMENT THAT OSI
REQUESTS WOULD NOT BE REFUSED ON ARBITRARY BASIS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 07606 01 OF 02 172001Z

5. PETROSYANTS SUGGESTED THAT OUR PROBLEM WAS TO FIND
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS. IN THIS REGARD, THE
SOVIET SIDE FELT THAT THE FORMULATION "ARBITRARY REFU-
SALS" OF ON-SITE INSPECTIONS--WHICH THE US HAD PROPOSED
FOR THE AGREED UNDERSTANDING--WAS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR
DOCUMENTS SUCH AS THIS. THE SOVIET SIDE MIGHT PREFER A
FORMULATION SUCH AS "INSUFFICIENTLY SUBSTANTIATED
REFUSALS." WARNKE INDICATED THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO
CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS AND SUGGESTED THAT THE
POLITICAL WORKING GROUP EXAMINE THE DRAFT LANGUAGE FOR
THE AGREED UNDERSTANDING. PETROSYANTS AGREED THAT THIS
COULD BE DONE--THE FIRST TIME THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN
WILLING TO CONSIDER THE TEXT OF THE AGREED UNDERSTANDING.

6. WARNKE COMMENTED THAT MUCH PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN
THE NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH DIFFICULT ISSUES REMAINED.
IN PARTICULAR, THE TASK NOW WITH REGARD TO NATIONAL
SEISMIC STATIONS IS TO WORK OUT SPECIFICS REGARDING
EQUIPMENT AND PROCEDURES FOR THEIR OPERATION. PETROSYANTS
INQUIRED REGARDING THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENT OF US EQUIP-
MENT FOR NATIONAL SEISMIC STATIONS. THE SOVIETS DID NOT

WANT TO BUY A "PIG-IN-A-POKE"; THEY NEEDED TO SEE DETAILED DESIGNS. JOHNSON INDICATED THAT EQUIPMENT IS IN AN ADVANCED STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. WE WOULD MAKE AVAILABLE DESIGN DRAWINGS BUT THESE WOULD NOT BE PRECISE DESIGNS OF THE PRODUCTION MODEL SINCE FURTHER CHANGES COULD BE EXPECTED. PERHAPS THROUGH THEIR INVOLVEMENT BEFORE THE DESIGNS WERE FINALIZED, SOVIET EXPERTS COULD OFFER USEFUL SUGGESTIONS. PETROSYANTS SAID THAT US PROPOSAL TO USE SEISMIC EQUIPMENT WHICH IT WAS CURRENTLY DEVELOP-

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 07606 02 OF 02 172002Z
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-----004677 172015Z /61

O 171923Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9763
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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 07606

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ING, BUT WHICH WAS NOT YET IN PRODUCTION STAGE, WAS A CAUSE OF CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS. HE THOUGHT THEREFORE WE COULD DEVELOP SOME SPECIFIC STAGES IN ESTABLISHING NATIONAL SEISMIC STATIONS. THE FIRST STAGE WOULD BE BASED ON THE USE OF EXISTING, OPERATING SEISMIC STATIONS. THE SECOND STAGE WOULD CONSIST OF IMPROVING THESE STATIONS. THE THIRD WOULD INVOLVE CREATION OF SEISMIC STATIONS WITH OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTICS AS THE US HAS PROPOSED. THIS LAST STAGE WOULD REQUIRE ESTABLISHING A NEW COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM AND OTHER DETAILS. IT WOULD INVOLVE A COMPLEX SET OF PROBLEMS AND WOULD NEED CONSIDERABLE WORK WHICH THE JOINT CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION WOULD CARRY OUT.

7. WARNKE RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT, BETWEEN OUR DELEGATIONS, WE HAVE ASSEMBLED IN GENEVA AN IMPRESSIVE COLLECTION OF TECHNICAL EXPERTS. WE SHOULD USE THIS

EXPERTISE TO SOLVE AS MANY PROBLEMS NOW AS WE CAN RATHER
THAN SIMPLY PUTTING THE HARD PROBLEMS OFF TO THE JOINT
CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. PETROSYANTS SAID, "THIS
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SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 07606 02 OF 02 172002Z

PROPOSAL IS ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. LET THEM SOLVE THE
PROBLEMS HERE AS SOON AS THEY CAN, SO THEY CAN GO HOME
AND GET BACK TO THEIR REGULAR WORK." WARNKE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NEGOTIATIONS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA07606
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780208-0615
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780551/aaaabqou.tel
Line Count: 182
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: c9283e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2669457
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: WARNKE-PETROSYANTS MEETING, MAY 16 CTB MESSAGE NO. 211
TAGS: PARM, US, UK, UR, (WARNKE, PAUL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/c9283e9c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014